

THE

(6)

Pourtraicture

O F

K. CHARLES I. ILLUMINATED,

With several of his MEMORABLE ACTIONS
Very proper to be read on the 30th. of Ja-
nuary, before Sermon.

A L S O

A Prayer, of the King's in the time of his Cap-
tivity.

*Sent in a Letter from one in the Countrey to his
Friend in the City.*

L O N D O N,
Printed in the Year M. DCC.

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MAR 12 1937

S I R,

ACCORDING to your Desire, and my Promise, I send you the Evidence I can produce, against the Propositions which you maintained concerning K. *Charles* the First. I Confess, you are far from being Singular in this Point, all the biggest Episcopalsians and Papists in *Brittain* and *Ireland* are bound, in Duty and Interest, to Cannonize him for a Saint ; And doubtless, he was the only Prince in the World, that was so Simple, as to Sacrifice the Interest of a Royal Family, his own Life, with the Quiet and Welfare of his People, to such a Cause : Besides this Numerous Faction, Thousands of Indifferent Persons are byassed, by a deep Ignorance or Misrepresentation of the State of Affairs at that time, of which a very Reasonable Account can be given, since, during the two last Reigns, no Man durst presume to Mutter one Syllable to *Stain the Spotless Reputation of the Royal Martyr*, as they were pleased to call him ; but King *Midas* will have Asses Ears, tho' all his Court should be sworn to conceal it. I believe any unprejudged Man might be easily perswaded in general, that such an impetuous Hurricane of Civil War, as raged in *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*, could not owe its rise and progress to an unnatural Frenzie that took the Subjects in the head, to throw off their Allegiance without any Cause. Neither intend I by this to justify all the proceedings of the *English* Parliament, and others, against the King, for beyond all question in such a general disturbance, Knaves sat not idle ; and you remember, I told you positively, that I would not Vindicate those that had a hand in his death, I leave that to be done by the *Anabaptists* and *Independants*, since *Oliver* the Usurper and his Party, who were the Actors of that Tragedy, called themselves by these Names. The only thing I shall take to task here, are the 5 Propositions which you asserted and I denied. Which, you know were these,

- I. That this King was the best Protestant of that Age.
- II. That he was a Martyr for the Church of *England*.
- III. That he was one of the best of Kings.
- IV. That he was Author of that Idolized Book Entitled, EIKON BASIAIKH.

V. That

V. That the *Scots* Sold the King.

To evince the falshood of these Propositions, I shall make use only of such Authors as are either of the Church of *England*, or of approved impartiality, and I do really think, after ye have perused this Shedule, you'll change your Sentiment in these Points.

To begin then, I shall only produce against your first Proposition, a Letter written by himself to *Antichrist*. And some few of his Acts in favours of these of the *Roman Catholick* Communion.

The Prince of Wales's Answer (afterward King Charles I.) to Pope Gregory the 15th's Letter.

Most Holy Father,

I Received the Dispatch from your Holiness with great content, and with that Respect, which the Piety and Care wherewith your Holiness writes, doth require; it was an unspeakable Pleasure to me to read the Generous Exploits of the Kings, my Predecessors, in whose Memory Posterity hath not given those Praises and Elogies of Honour as were due to them. I do believe, that your Holiness hath set their Examples before my Eyes, to the end I might imitat them in all my Actions: For in truth, they have often exposed their Estates and Lives for the Exaltation of the Holy Chair; and the Courage with which they have assaulted the Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less than the Care and Thought which I have, to the end that the Peace and Intelligence which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a true and strong Concord. For * as the common Enemy of Peace warcheth always to put Hatred and Dissention amongst Christian Princes; so I believe that the Glory of God requires, that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater Honour to be descended from so great Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety, in which it helps me very much to have known the Mind and

* *The interest of Popery and Tyranny were always found very well to agree; and this Prince was easily perswaded, that his Crown and the Popes Chair had common Friends and common Enemies.*

Will

Will of our Thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the Holy Intentions of his Catholick Majesty, to give a happy Concurrence to so laudable a Design; for it grieves him exceedingly to see the great Evils that grow

* *The Pope prepared a strange Wise for him, which according to Scripture Truth, is a dangerous Preparative for a strange God; Surely they will turn away your Hearts after their Gods. 1. Kings. 11. 2.*

from the Division of Christian Princes, which the Wisdom of your Holiness foresaw * when it judged the Marriage which you pleased to Design between the Infanta of Spain, and my self, to be necessary to procure so greata Good: For its very certain, that I shall never be so extreamply Affectionat to any thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance with a Prince that

hath the same Apprehension of the true Religion with my self: Therefore I entreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been always very far from Novelties, or to be a Partisan of any Faction against the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have sought all occasions to take away the Suspicion that might rest upon me; and that I will employ my self for the time to come, to have but one Religion, and one Faith, seing that we all believe in one *Jesus Christ*, having resolved in my self to spare nothing that I have in the World, and to suffer all manner of Discommodities, even to the hazarding of my Estate and Life, for a thing so pleasing unto God: It rests only, that I thank your Holiness for the Permission you have been pleased to afford me: And I pray God, to give you a Blessed Health, and his Glory, after so much Pains which your Holiness takes in his Church.

This Letter of the Kings was Printed in Spain in several Languages.

Recorded by Andrew De Chefne Chronographer to the French King, in his History of England, Scotland and Ireland, lib. 22. The French Mercury a newer control'd Author hath also in Tom. 9 Pag. 509, 510. Printed in 1623 and several others, as Mr. Howels points at it in his Dedonus Grove or Vocal Forrest. And the Bishop of Leichfields in his Life of Bishop Williams And Rush: in his Collect: has another of the Princes Letters somewhat different from this 1 Vol. Pag. 82

You

You see Sir, That your Non-such Protestant King, salutes Antichrist at the first dash, with the Title of most Holy Father, which is a very faint mark of a sound Protestant : I know you'l give me trouble here, ofwiping away two Scrouples. First, That many of the *English* Church look not on the Pope as Antichrist ; Secondly, That as the School men say in *Titulis honorariis non est falsitas*. As to the first Scruple, many of the Church of *England* are asbad Protestants as ever *K. Charles* was, and that they look not on the Pope as Antichrist, has no more weight with me, than if you had said the *Jesuits* of *Doway* look not on the Pope as Antichrist But pray Sir, do ou think their Opinion can clear the Bishop of *Rome* from being such ? And if the Pope be not Antichrist, intruth, the poor persecuted Protestants of *Europe* have had a very fair Plea of it all this while, in exposing their Lives and Fortunes to all the malicious rage, that Hell it self could have put in Execution against them on this side of time, only because they cannot comply with some frivolous Ceremonies and indifferent Opinions of the Mother Church. But this point is so clearly demonstrated by able Pens, that I think any Man that owns the Name of a Protestant, should be ashamed to say he doubts of it ; but for your Satisfaction, I shall offer you one Argument.

Who ever discharges that to be done, which another (by a legal Authority) has commanded as an indispensible Duty ; exalts himself above that other

But the Pope discharges the drinking of the Cup in the Sacrament to the Layety, who are Christs Members as well as the Priests. And our Saviour commands the Cup with an Emphasis, *Drink ye all of it. Ergo*, The Pope exalts himself above our Saviour, and consequently is Antichrist.

In the same manner he exalts himself above God, in pretending to a Power of Dispencing, not only with all the Duties of the Moral-Law, but also of all the Institutions of the Gospel. (*) Thus he makes it unlawful for Priests to Marry, which *St. Paul* calls the Doctrine of Devils. 1 *Tim.* 4. Chap: and makes Marriage a Sacrament, which God never instituted as such ; yet he makes it lawful for Priests to commit Whoredom, when he denys them the lawful Means of the Marriage-bed. I shall not stand upon *Purgatory*, Indulgences in Vocation of Saints

[*] For Bell: expressly says, That if the Pope command the practice of Vice, and forbid Virtuous Actions, the Church is bound to believe Vices to be Good, and Virtues to be Bad. Bell: de Pontif: Rom: lib. 15: Cap: 5.

and Angles, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Worshipping of the Host, the Doctrine of unwritten Traditions, &c. which are the Characters of the Mysterious Name of the Beast, legibly written on the Pop's Fore-head. Now, tho the Pope were not really Antichrist, yet K. Cha. could not be called a good Protestant, because the very Name of a Protestant, includes in it, an Aversion and utter Abhorance of all the Innovations and Usurpations of the See of Rome, to which K. Cha. has had no great Dis-like. As to your second Scruple, That the King might call him *most Holy Father* by way of Complement, because it is his ordinary Title; for which you alledge the Maxim, *In Titulis Honorariis non est falsitas*. Sir, I shall not question the Vatidity of your Maxim; but I say in this Case, you stretch it farther than ever the School-men mean'd.

If you say that this Argument concludes in *Titulis Honorariis non est falsitas*: Ergo, I may lawfully call the Pope *most Holy Father*. I shall argue every white, as well thus, in *Titulis Honorariis non est falsitas*: Ergo I may say to an Ape, may it please your Sacred Majesty, or call an Ass Worshipful Sir. The drift of the School-men by that Maxim, may be cleared from the Restrictions, by which, they of necessity must limit its extent. First, The Dignity to which the Title belongs, ought to be a real Dignity & not a Chimera or a meer Pretence, such as the Pope's being Christs Vicar on Earth is. Secondly, The Title ought to be adequate to the Dignity, and legally imposed; So no Man will expect, that I should call a Church-Sexton Right Honourable. But this Title of the Pope's would be Blasphemy in the highest Angel of Heaven, and favours more of the Vicar of Lucifer than of the Vicar of Christ. I hope by this time, you are convinced, King Charles could not call the Pope *most Holy Father*, and at the same time be a good Protestant, much less the best of his Age. The whole strain of the Letter smells so rank of Popery, that it stinks worse than Carrion in the Nose of a Protestant Reader.

I. He professes therein, That nothing could affect him so much, as an Alliance with a Prince, that had the same apprehension of the *true Religion with himself, that was the King of Spain, a notable Protestant*.

II. He calls Popery the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion, all others Novelty and Faction.

III. He protests he did not esteem it a matter of greater Honour, to be descended from great Princes, than to imitat them in the Zeal of their Piety, who had often exposed their Estates and Lives for the Exaltation of the Holy Chair.

IV, He

IV. He solemnly engaged to the Pope, to spare nothing in the World, and suffer all manner of Discommodities, even to the hazarding of his Estate and Life, for to settle a thing so pleasing to God as Unity with Rome.

Behold what a good sign of Protestantism here hangs at the Kings Door:

Secondly, I must tell you, that your good Protestant King favoured

(a) *Bishop of Leichfields Life of Bish. William's. Rushworths Collect. 1. vol. pag. 66. 67. 63. 86. 89. 169. Coks Detect: 3. Ed. pag. 143.*

ces of Peace to meddle with his Roman Catholick Subjects. (b) These

(b) *Bishop of Leichfields Life of Bishop William's, part 2. pag. 6. Coks Detect. 3. Edit. pag. 165.*

(c) *Rush: Collect: vol. 1. pag. 169 Coks detect: 3. Ed: pag. 165.*

(d) *Rush. Collect: vol. 2. pag. 283.*

(e) *Rush: Collect: vol. 1. pag: 392. to 396. and 660.*

(f) *Rush: Collect: vol. 1. pag: 422. 423. Coks detect: 3. Edit. pag. 197.*

Popery, for in his Marriage Articles, he agreed, That his Children should be brought up in the Popish Religion with their Mother, till they were Twelve Years of Age, and that Papists should not be Molested. (a) And for that end he sent a Letter to Keeper William's, ordering him to discharge all Judges, and Justices

are the first Fruits of his promis'd Indulgence and Favour; The King granted to Twenty Roman Priests, a special Pardon of all their Offences committed against the Law then in force against Papists, (c.)

Thirdly, He made several popish Lords Members of his Privy Council. As my Lord Thesaurer Weston, Lord Cottington, Secretar Windibank. (d.)

Fourthly, He also put a great Number of popish Lords and Gentlemen in places of great Trust. (e.)

Fifthly, He caus'd such Men to be made Bishops, as were for the most part unsound in their Principles, (for they set up for a New Church of England, and corrupted the true Religion in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, these laid new painting on the Old Face of the Whore of Babilon, to make her appear lovely)

lovely) in particular, Bishop *Laud* a Man unsound, for he allowed and licensed Books which favoured Popery, as *Sibberps* Sermon, the Book that Archbishop *Abbot* was Suspended for not Licensing of, but refused to License Books written against it. (g)

He also deprived several for not reading the Book of Sports and Pastimes on the *Lords-day*. (b)

He also enjoyn'd the wearing of the Surplice, and caused remove the Communion Table from the body of the Church to the East, and caused Rails to be set about the Table, and refused to administer the Sacrament to such as should not come up to the Rails and receive the Kneeling. (i.)

He caused a Crucifix and Images to be placed in his Chappels at *Lambeth* and *Croyden*. (k.)

And now Sir, since Bishop *Laud* was a Person, that acted a considerable part in this Princes Tragedy ; I think you'l not look upon it as an improper Digression, if I shall offer an instance of the several Preposterous Methods this great Reformer took to be Advanced in the Church. When he was at *Oxford* he was suspected to be popishly inclined, being an Informer, and one who mocked at these who preached down Popery. *Rush. Collect. vol. 1. pag. 62.* And when he served in Quality of Chaplain to the Earl of *Devonshire*, he Married the Earl to the Lady *Rich* another Mans Wife at *Wansted* in *Essex*, See *Cocks Detections 3d. Edition Page 123.* Now the ridicalous story of his Advancement to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids* in this, on a morning he comes to the Duke of *Buckingham's* Lodging, and begged the Duke to recommend him to His Majesty for Bishop of *St. Davids*. The Duke Replied, that he could not do it, because he was represented to him as the proudest Man alive. I assure your Grace (answered *Laud*) I'm on the contrary the humblest Man on Earth. He try that presently (says the Duke) so ordains him to take several turns over and over ; under the bed where he and his whore were lying

g *Rush. Collect. vol. 1. pag. 655*

h *Cocks Deteft. 3. Edit. pag. 238. 257. Rush. Collect vol. 2: pag. 193. 410. 459. 460. 462.*

i *Rush. Collect. vol. 2. pag. 300: 381. Coks detect: 3. Edit: pag. 254. 255.*

k *Rush. Collect. vol: 2: pag: 273: 275:*

together, which he did to Content ; and when this pretty Prank was over, well says the Duke, now I believe you ; you shall have the Bishoprick of St. David's. see *Cokes defect.* 3. Ed. pag. 123. Was not this a sad Boy to be made high Priest ? But what can we say, since he was the Man the King delighted to Honour, but to return.

6. The King broke his Word to his Parliament (than which nothing should be more Sacred to a Prince) on the Morrow after he had made it, for the Parliament having presented a Petition to his Majesty for the Advancement of the true Religion, and Suppression of Popery ; His Majesty vouchsafed as well from his own Mouth, as by the Lord Keeper, to return such an answer as assured them of his Royal Performance, yet at their next Meeting, they found, that on the Morrow after his Promise

to them, he had granted a Pardon to 1. *Rush: Collect: vol: 1. pag: 186.* Alexander Baker a Jesuite, and to Ten *Cokes defect: 3. Ed: pag: 168:* others. (1)

This is so much the more remarkable, that these Pardons were granted when the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Admiral, was so busie in setting out the Fleet against the Protestants of *Roche*, for your good King lent Ships to the *French* Monsieur to destroy the Protestants of *Roche* (tho they had given him no Offence, notwithstanding the *French* King had perfidiously broken his Promise with his Father and himself in denying *Mansfield's* Army to Land as they were going for the recovery of the Palatinate) which made the *French* Papists boast, that the *English* Ships mowed the Hereticks down like Grass. (m)

7. He sheltered the Duke of *Buckingham*, when he was prosecuted in Parliament, as the Patron of the Popish Faction : And he dissolved Parliaments, when they were intent upon prosecuting the Duke, and had charged him in effect with the Murder of King *James*. In Relation to which, Sir *Edward Payton*, who was a Member of Parliament at that time, doth thus express himself, in a Treatise called *The Divine Catastrophe*, " The Duke of *Buckingham* rewarded King *James* by Poison, as appeared plainly in Parliament, by " the

" the Evidence of several Physicians, *moirs. pag: 6. Cocks Detest. pag.*
 " especially Doctor *Ramsay a Scotsman*, 174. 189.
 " one of the Kings Physicians; And
 King *Charles*, to save the Duke, dissolved the Parliament, when he was
 impeached for it: You may read the Articles exhibited against the Duke
 at large. (n.)

And the King never after that had the Truth tryed, to clear himself
 from Confederacy, or the Duke from so Heinous a Scandal; but on the
 contrary, he commanded Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and Sir *John Eliot*, who were
 Active in the Dukes Impeachment, to
 be sent to the Tower. (o.)

o. *Rush. Collect. Vol. 1.*

8. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (*Ab-* *pag. 356.*
bot.) and the Parliament of *England*, cal-
 led one Mr. *Montague* before them, for writing three Book in favours of
 Popery: One called, *A Gage for the New Gospel*. In which he affirmed,
 That the Church of *Rome* has ever remained firm upon the same Founda-
 tion of Sacrament and Doctrine instituted by God; that Images may
 be used for the Instruction of the Ignorant, and Excitation of Devotion:
 In the second Book, called, *A Treatise concerning the Invocation of Saints*, he
 maintains, That Saints have a peculiar Patronage and Custody, Protec-
 tion and Power over certain Persons and Counties. And in the third, cal-
 led, *An Appeal to Caesar*, he affirms, That Men Justified, may fall away from
 the State of Grace, of which once they were possess'd, and that they may
 rise again, and become New Men possibly, but not certainly nor necessa-
 rily, with several Passages Dishonou-
 rable to King *James*, and full of bitter
 Railing against many Worthy Divines
 of the Church of *England*. (p.)

p. *Rush. Collect. Vol. 1.*

pag. 209. 210. 211. Cocks De-
test. 3. Edit. pag: 180.

Yet the King told the Parliament,
 That he was displeased with them, for calling *Montague* before them,
 since he was his Servant and Chaplain,
 and that he would take the Business in
 his own Hand. (q.)

q. *Rush. Collect. Vol. 1. pag. 174.*

Cocks Detest. 3. Edit. pag. 166.

But the King was so far from punish-

r. *Rush. Collect. Vol. 1. pag. 227.*

ing him, that in a little after, he caused him to be made Bishop of *Chichester*.
(r.) By which you may see the Religious Care this Pious Prince had for the Church of England.

9. He pardoned Mr. *Cosens*, Doctor *Sibthorps*, Doctor *Maynwaring*, three Seditious ill Natured Fellows, who had written several Books in favours of Popery, when their Metropolitain and Parliament were calling them to an Account for the same. (f.)

f. *Rush. Collect. Vol. 1. pag. 635. 655.*

Mr. *Cosens* wrote one Book, called,

The Seven Sacraments. Doctor *Sibthorps* the Sermon, called, *Apostolical Obedience*, being the Book that the Archbishop *Abbot* was Suspended for not Licensing. Doctor *Maynwarnings* was by the Parliament discharged from ever holding any Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Church, for Preaching Flat Popery, &c. and he confessed the Justice of the Censure, *Rush. Collect. Vol. 1. page 605.* Nevertheless he was preferred by Bishop *Laud* to a Fat Rectory of *Stamford River* in *Essex*, and a Dispensation to hold it with the Rectory of *St. Giles* in the Field, *Cokes Detect. 3. Edit. page 227.* And was afterward promoted to be Bishop of *St. David*, *Rush. Collect. Vol. 2. page 228.* These were the Steps, by which Men ascended to Grandure in the Church of *England*, under the best of Protestants, and the best of Kings.

II. You called him next a Martyr for the Church of *England*; But Sir I must tell you, the Church of *Rome* rivals her in this Honour, as you may see by the Popish *Manuels* printed at *London* and *Edinburgh* by the late *K. James's* Printers, your darling of Heaven, as your Bishops were pleased to call him in the Address they sent him, when the Prince of *Orange* our present King was coming to deliver us from the Yoak of Popish Slavery. But how he can be both a Martyr for the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome* I leave you to reconceal the Contradiction. For my part, the Instances I have produced, give me very good Ground to believe the Church of *Rome* had a fair Claim on't. And you know, uses not to insert Hereticks as Martyrs in their Callander. And the instances I shall produce against the next Proposition would make a Man Jealous, that he was rather a Martyr to his own Ambition of Arbitrary sway than to either of the Rival Churches.

I come

I come next to answer your third Assertion, that K. Charles was the best of Kings. Sir, it is impossible to give you in the narrow compass of a Letter, an ample account of the numerous Slips and Mismanagements of this inconsiderate Prince. I shall only then remark some Passages of his carriage to his Subjects in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; which may serve to let you see the Folly of your beloved Opinion.

The first thing K. Ch. did after his Accession to the Crown, was the levying Soldiers for recovery of the Palatinate, which had been lost by his Fathers folly: For the good old peaceable King, was so over-sord of the *Spanish Match*, that he calmly sat, and beheld the House of *Austria* rage like a wild Boar, thro' almost all the Protestant Dominions in *Europe*, tho his Son-in-law, Daughter and Grand-Children made the principal Scene of that Bloody Tragedy: And all this he did, rather than give his Brother, the Eldest Son of the *Romish Church* the least Disgust. Whereas his Power, at that time, could have turned the Scales to what side he pleased; and now his Subjects must be Opprest to recover what his wilful folly lost. This truth is so palpable, that it needs no Confirmation to a Man that knows any thing of the Transactions of that time. See *Rush: vol. 1. from pag. 1. to pag. 163. and Coks Desc: of K. James the firsts Reign.* Nay to save the great Matchivil of *England, Buckinghame*: This point must be driven further yet, and a War must be declared against the King of *Spain* at such an unseasonable Juncture, when the Expence of K. James's Funeral, and Solemnization of Marriage with *France* were just approaching. A Fleet too must be rigged out, and Merchant Ships prest to subdue the Protestants in *Rochel*: *Rush: Collect: vol. 1. pag: 191. 174. Coks desc: 3. Edit: 159. 157.* The Parliament that was then called, desirous to satisfy their young King, in all his reasonable Demands grants him two subsidies (a.) but gave in these Grievances that the publick Treasury was mispent; The guarding of the Seas neglected (b) and the Money designed for recovering the Palatinate employed to destroy the Protestants of *Rochel* (c) with all which they charged the Duke of *Buckinghame*, the King perceiving the House resolved to grant no more Supplies without a Redress.

a *Rush: vol. 1.*

pag: 174.

b *Rush. vol. 1.*

pag. 176.

c *Pag: 179. 181.*

d Pag.
191.

dress of these weighty Grievances; and finding they began to Reflect on his Darling *Buckingham*, dissolved the Parliament. (d) this was really a bodding omen of a prosperous and Gracious Reign, for a King in the first five Months of his Government, to entangle himself precipitantly into so many Snares at once, and in the very mean time, to break the Arm of his Power, in disobliging his Parliament.

The next Parliament held after his Coronation, gave in their Grievances. 1. That the Kingdom was diminished in Strength and Honour. 2. That Papists were Tolerated and Countenanced. 3. That the narrow Seas were not Guarded. 4. That many Men were invested with plurality of Offices. 5. That Honours and Places of Judicature were sold. 6. That Ships were prest to serve the *French*, against the Protestants of *Rochel*. 7.

a *Rush. vol. 1.* That the 3 Subsidies and 3 fifteen granted *ultimo Jacobi*, were Mis-employed. (a.) All this and much more was laid to *Buckingham's* charge. And the Earl of *Bristol*, who had the Commendation of the best & honestest States-men

b Pag: 262. in *England*, gave in Twelve Articles against the Duke. [b.] and Thirteen Articles by the House of Commons. And after a thorow Trial, the Duke was found Guilty of all the Mischiefe the Kingdom laboured under; you may see the debate at large in *Rush: vol.*

c. *Rush: Coll:* 1. from pag: 303 to 357. In this weighty buisness the King, by espousing *Buckingham's* quarrel, made the Dukes faults his own. [c.] in a great Heat, he desired them to remember, that Parliaments were altogether in his Power, as to their Calling, Sitting, and Dissolution, and as he found the fruits of them, Good or Evil, they were to continue, or not to be; and desired them to fall upon the main buisness, for which he called them,

d. *Cokes dect:* viz The granting of Subsidies; This they had no great mind to, till their Grievances were redrest. (d.) The King however, presses them first to grant the Subsidies,

e. pag. 183. and then to take the Grievances into Consideration. (e.) The Parliament having yet fresh in Memory, the Dissolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, about 6 Months before; and what Trust was to be given to this King's word, for Redress of Grievances after

after the granting of Money. Notwithstanding, voted to proceed upon Grievances, and give the King 3 Subsidies and 3 fifteens, which the King judged not proportionable to supply his Necessities (f.) but the Commons ran high against the Duke, and Protested, that till he were removed from meddling with State Affairs: They had good reason to fear the Mis-employment of their Money to the destruction of the Kingdom (a.) and yet during this Ferment, to make a down right Mockry of his Parliament, he procures the Duke to be chosen Chancellor of Cambridge (b.) and rather than receive the Remonstrance, they had prepared against the Duke, resolved to part with the Parliament, and so dissolved them: to the Universal Dissatisfaction of all Ranks. June 15. 1626. (c.) and so lost 4 Subsidies and 3 Fifteens. Nor was it the Commons only that he displeased in this Parliament, but the Peers too, as you may see from *Rushworth* in the Cases of the Earl's of *Arundel* and *Bristol*. The King having packed off the Parliament, sends an Hectoring Declaration after them, magnifying his absolute Power of calling, Adjurning, Proroguing and dissolving Parliaments: (d.)

The King now by the ill Advice, and worse Management of his Court Flatterers, is brought to a notable pass, he is engaged in a War against two of the greatest Potentates in Europe, the King of Spain and the Emperor; his Treasury is exhausted by their Extravagance and ill Conduct, the Parliament and the King upon this Account are put by the Ears together, and for all this, without regard to the present Circumstances, a War must be proclaimed against France; and Heaven knows upon what Pretence, if it was not to satisfy *Buckingham*, who entertained the Pique to Cardinal *Richieu*. (e.) as the War with Spain was raised upon feud betwixt the Duke and *Oliveres*. (f.)

Now let us consider the Means that the King fell upon, to prosecute this War against all Christendom almost, when he had none except *Buckingham*, *Land*, and an empty Purse, to support him: First, A Benevolence

f. *Cokes detect*:
3: Ed: p: 184:
c. 185.

a *Cokes detect*:
pag: 190.

b. *Rush: Collect*:
vol: 1: pag: 373.

c. *Rush: vol. 1.*
pag: 400.

d. *Cokes det*: 3:
Ed: p. 190. *Rush*.
vol. 1. p. 406.

e. *Cokes Detect*:
3: Ed: p. 194: 196:
f. *Rush: Collect*:
vol. 1. p. 180.

nevolence is required of the Subject, to lend freely: And. demands in particular, the Loan of 100000 Pounds from the City of London: Charges the Ports of England, to furnish Ships on their own proper Cost: Grants a Commission to execute Martial Law, Billets, Souldiers, and makes the Countrey pay their Quarters; the Rich, who refuse to pay the Loans,

a. Rush. Vol. 1. from p. 415. to 430: Cokes Det: p. 196. [*a.*] The Injustice of this Procedure was made out, from the Laws and Practice of England in former Reigns, by Sir *John Eliot*, as you may see by his Petition to the King, when he was Prisoner at *Gate-House*, *Rush. Vol. 1. p. 429.* And these were the Ways the King took, to justify his Integrity for the Well of the Kingdom, so as to satisfie not only his own Conscience, but his People, and the whole World, as he promised in his Declaration for Dissolution of the Parliament. [*b.*] But lest the King's Proclamation, for his Unparalell'd Piece of Tyranny, should be stumbled at, *Sibthorp* and *Maynwaring*, (two special Favourites of Land) are set on Work to Preach, That the King is not bound to observe the Laws of the Land in his Government, and that his Royal Will, in Imposing Loans and Taxes, does oblige the Subject's Conscience, upon Pain of Eternal Damnation. Strange Divinity! (*r.*)

b. Rush: Coll: Vol: 1. p: 405. And it is observable, That *Sibthorp* was an Ignorant Block-Head, that never came the length of commencing Bachelor of Arts, but this rendred him an Accomplish'd Doctor of this Unreasonable Divinity. (*d.*) This *Sibthorps* Sermon was presented to Archbishop *Abbots*, a Learned and Godly Prelat, by express Command from his Majesty, to receive an *Imprimatur*, which he refused, and made Observations on the Inconsistency of one part with another.

c. Cokes Det: p: 197. This was all the King and his Partizans desired for, they had presented it to him only, with a Design to Ensnare the good old Man, and so they banished him to his House at *Foord*, five Miles beyond *Canterbury*, a Moorish Unhealthy Place, the Office of High Commission is taken from him,

d. Rush. Vol: 1. p: 436. *Sibthorps* Sermon was presented to Archbishop *Abbots*, a Learned and Godly Prelat, by express Command from his Majesty, to receive an *Imprimatur*, which he refused, and made Observations on the Inconsistency of one part with another.

e. Rush. Vol: 1. p: 436. *Sibthorps* Sermon was presented to Archbishop *Abbots*, a Learned and Godly Prelat, by express Command from his Majesty, to receive an *Imprimatur*, which he refused, and made Observations on the Inconsistency of one part with another.

f. Rush. Vol: 1. p: 436. *Sibthorps* Sermon was presented to Archbishop *Abbots*, a Learned and Godly Prelat, by express Command from his Majesty, to receive an *Imprimatur*, which he refused, and made Observations on the Inconsistency of one part with another.

g. Rush. Vol: 1. p: 436. *Sibthorps* Sermon was presented to Archbishop *Abbots*, a Learned and Godly Prelat, by express Command from his Majesty, to receive an *Imprimatur*, which he refused, and made Observations on the Inconsistency of one part with another.

h. Rush. Vol: 1. p: 436. *Sibthorps* Sermon was presented to Archbishop *Abbots*, a Learned and Godly Prelat, by express Command from his Majesty, to receive an *Imprimatur*, which he refused, and made Observations on the Inconsistency of one part with another.

him, and committed to the Bishops of *Durham, Oxford, Rochester, Bath and Wells*. See Archbishop *Abbot's* own Narrative, in the first Volum of *Rush. Collect. from page 434 to page 458.*

The King and his good Counsellors take their Swing in this Arbitrary Manner, the Duke is chosen Admiral, goes against the *French*, and brings nothing back, but Loss of Money, and Loss of Honour: The King in this Strait, by Advice of Sir *Robert Cotton*, calls a Parliament, in order to raise Money, to pay the standing Army, which was kept on foot, when the *French* Expedition had consumed all that should have paid them. [a:] and to maintain these Wars he & his wise States-men had raised.

a *Cokes Det. page 199: Rush: v: 1: p: 467:*

You must pardon me here, to make a short Reflection on the Conduct of this hot Headed Prince. Who advised him to make War with *Spain* and *France*? his Father advised him not to make War upon *Spain*; and if we search all the Journals of Parliament 21 *Jacobi*, we shall not find one word for making War upon the King of *Spain*, but only to break off the Treaty with the *Spanish* Match, and for the Palatinate. [b.] And in the War upon *France*, he and *Buckingham* were the only Aggressors. No Parliament did ever advise him to lend a Fleet to the *French* King, to subdue the poor *Rochellers* who had never offended him. Now with what Face could the King desire Supplies from this Parliament, to maintain Wars in which they had never engaged, and that at a time when he had committed a downright Rape upon all their Fundamental Constitutions, by taking their Goods by Force, and filling all the Prisons with the most Eminent Gentry of *England*, [c:] denying them the Birth-right of the Subject, and continuing them in Prison during his Will, without allowing them a Tryal by Law, by executing Martial Law, and imposing new Oaths, and giving free Quarters to Souldiers in time of Peace, at a time when he had quite broken their Trade, by stopping all Commerce to *Spain, France* and *Germany*. And yet in his first Speech, we hear him talk big Words to them, as *First*, That it was never their Duty more than now, to grant large Supplies, and that if they failed, he would make use of these Means that God had put into his Hands, to save that which the Follies of particular Men might otherways hazard to lose. Secondly, He desires them not to take this for a Threatning, for he scorn'd

b. *Cokes Det: p: 202.*

c *Cokes Det: p: 199:*

to threaten any but his Equals. See *Rush: Vol. 1: page 476*. These were Notable Signs of Wisdom and Goodness ! Did ever King, or other Man before him; tell these, from whom he expected any Benefit, that he scorn'd them ? And if they did not what he pleased, he would use such Means as God had put in his Hand, without telling what these Means were ? And branded them with the Name of Fools and particular Men ? In the beginning of the Parliament, the Grievances were taken into Consideration, but no regard was given to them, nor could be expected, till the King should get a Prospect of Supply. Well, it was agreed on *nemine contradicente*, that upon Redress, the King should have Five Subsidies, which was more than ever any King of *England* got at once. The Parliament presented to His Majesty a Petition of Rights, which was a Confirmation of their *Magna-Charter*, and especially of such Points as the King had infringed. The King will not confirm it, till the Money Bill be past, which gave occasion to great Heats in both Houses. They took next into Consideration *Mayn-warring's* Blesphemous Pamphlet about the King's absolute Power ; and Petitioned the King, that the Copies might be called in and burnt, this vex'd His Majesty so, that he commanded the Speaker to let the House know, that he will certainly end this Session on the eleventh of that Month : And therefore required, that they might not spend their time on any new Business ; this put the House into a Fearful Consternation, so that they Voted themselves into a Committee, to consider what was to be done for the Safety of the Kingdom, and charged no Man to go out of the House, upon pain of being committed to the Tower. At this time they agreed on several Heads concerning Innovations in Religion, the Safety of the King and Kingdom, Misgovernment, Misfortune of their late Designs, with the Causes of them : But the King set himself quite cross to all the Particulars of this Just Remonstrance, and at last, in a great Huff dissolved the Parliament. And immediately, upon the Up-breaking of the Houses, issues out Commissions for Apprehending and Imprisoning the most Eminent Members of it. You have a full Account of all the Particulars, of which I have given you this Brief Hint, in *Rush. coll. Vol. 1. from page 476: to the end, and in Cokes Detect, from page 199, to page 233*. Did ever any King of *England* treat a Parliament at this rate ? Is not the great Design of Parliaments this, to give the King a true Representation of the State of a Kingdom, that Grievances of all sorts may be redrest ? And yet must he be stiled the best of Kings, that stops his Ears to the heaviest

heavieſt Grievances that ever a Nation groan'd under? I ſhall mention no more directly of his Miſmanagements in *England*, but proceed as I promiſed, and ſhew you how he treated his Subjects in *Scotland*, to whom he was united by a double Bond of Blood and Government. I have pitched upon the beginning of his Reign in *England* for two Reaſons, *First*, Becauſe at this time the Sectarians had not got themſelves intruded upon the Parliament, but the Members conſiſted of Gentlemen, who were of the Communion of the *English* Church, Gentlemen that were endued with the higheſt and tendereſt Reſpect to the Prerogatives of their Prince, and Liberties of their Countrey, that Reaſon and Chriſtianity could inſpire them with. *Secondly*, That you may ſee, that all the Conſuſion that followed in *Britain* and *Ireland*, was the Dreadful Conſequence of his own Folly; ſo that theſe whom he firſt diſobliged (tho willing) could not ſave his Life, when it lay at the Stake. And how can any Man ſuppoſe, in Reaſon, that the Kingdom of *England*, by this time, ſhould not be in a Dangerous Fever, ſince, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, *quarto Caroli*, there was not a Parliament held in *England* for twelve years and upwards. One indeed met without making a Seſſion by paſſing an Act, and was diſſolved within three Weeks. In this long Suſpenſion of the Exerciſe of the Supream Legiſlative Power, neither the King could have any Aſſiſtance from the People, to ſupport the Honour, Strength, and Intereſt of the Nation, nor the People any Relief of their preſſing Grievances, nor could any Proviſions be made by Law, for he Security and Advancement of their common Welfare.

Now, Sir, you muſt pardon me, if I dwell ſomewhat longer on the Affairs of *Scotland*, becauſe it is boldly aſſerted by your Party, that the *Scots* were the Beginners and Fomenters of the Civil War, the contrary whereof I'll ſhortly make appear.

King *Charles* the firſt and his Archbiſhop *Laud* having taken great care to reform the Church of *England*, by giving them ſome new Ceremonies, and a Book of Sports and Paſtimes for the Lords Day; His next Care was, for to have the Church of *Scotland* reformed: And for that end the Biſhop *Laud* compoſed a Service-book for *Scotland*. The *English* Service Book not pleaſing him, having put him to ſome pains to add ſome new Ceremonies to it, as you have ſeen before: And that the *Scots* Service Book might not have Errors in it, he ſent it to *Rome* firſt to his Eldeſt Brother the Pope, who with his Cardinals perſued it, and

liked it very well for Protestants to be trained in a form of Prayer and Service; yet considering the State of *Scotland*, and the temper and Tenors of that People: The Cardinals (first giving him thanks for his Respect and dutiful Compliance with them) sent him word that they thought that form of Prayer was not fitting for *Scotland*, but would breed some Stir and Unquietness there; But the good Arch-bishop hearing the Censure of the Cardinals, concerning his Service Book, and to ingratiate himself the more into their favour, corrected some things in it, and made it more Harsh and Unreasonable; you may read this at large in Mr. Thomas Gages Survey of the *West-India's*, pag. 208 Fol: Edit: [for the 8vo. Edition lately printed, gives no account of his Travels to *Rome*, but only in *West-Indies*.] You see that the King and Land, with his set of English Bishops would have the Scots to receive a Liturgy more Popish than their own; but in end the Scots must receive it. The Book being read by a Bishop in the City of *Edinburgh*, the People express a great Detestation thereof, and the Bishop who read it, had probably been slain coming out of the Church, had not a Nobleman rescued him. Now to shew you that the Scots Service Book varied from the English Common Prayer, but the Alterations were for the worse, especially in the Lords Supper. It was expressly commanded, that the Altar (so called) be situate to the East wall altogether, with many postures of the Ministers whilst he officiated in the Consecrating Prayer; these words which in the English Liturgy are directly against Transubstantiation, were quite left out in that Book, and instead of them, such other words as in plain Sense agreed with the Roman Mass-book, viz. Hear us O most merciful Father, and of thy Omnipotent Goodness grant so to Bless and Sanctify by thy Word and Spirit these Creatures of Bread and Wine; that they may be to us the Body of thy beloved Son.

The Scots having refused to receive their Service-book; and notwithstanding that the Nobility, Gentry, and Ministry Petitioned the King against it; The King threatened to prosecute them as Rebels, and commanded the Council to receive no more Petitions: Thereupon severals of the Nobility, in Name of the Petitioners, made a Protestation, that the Service-book was full of Superstition and Idolatry, and ought not to be obtruded upon them without consent of a National Synod, which in such Cases should be Judge: And that it was Unjust to deny them Liberty to accuse the Bishops being guilty of high Crimes, of which, till they were cleared, they did reject them as Judges or Governors of them; they justified

ed their own Meetings, and subscribing to Petitions, as being to defend the Glory of God, the King's Honour, and Liberty of the Realm : Then they concluded to renew the Covenant which had been made and Sealed under King *James* the 6th. hand in the year 1580. afterward confirmed by all the Estates of the Kingdom and Decree of the National Assembly in 1580. This Covenant was for the *Defence of the Purity of Religion and the King's Person and Rights* against the Church of *Rome*; this was begun in *February* 1638, and was so fast Subscribed through out the Kingdom, that before the end of *April* he was scarce accounted one of the *Reformed Religion* that had not Subscribed the Covenant : The Non-covenanters were Papists, not exceeding Six Hunder in Number throughout the Kingdom, states Men in Office and Favour at that time, and some few Protestants who were affected to the Ceremonies of England and Common Prayer. The King sent the Marques of *Hamilton* to deal with the Scots to renounce their Covenant, but they affirmed it could not be done without manifest Perjury & Profanation of Gods Name, and insisted to have the Service book utterly abolished, it being obtruded against all Law upon them, that their Meetings were lawful, and such as they would not forsake, untill the Purity of Religion, and Peace might be fully Settled by a free National Assembly. And they declared that the power of calling an Assembly, in case the Prince be an Enemy to the Churches good, is in the Church it self, and that the State of the Church at that time necessitated such a course.

The King at length (*fearing lest the Covenanters, if he delayed, would do it themselves*) called a National Assembly to meet at *Glasgow* the 20 of *November* 1638, but within Seven days it was dissolved by the Marques of *Hamilton* in the King's Name, and they commanded to sit no more; but they protested against that Dissolution, and continued the Assembly when the Marques of *Hamilton* was gone, and deposed all the Bishops, condemned the Liturgy, and whatsoever had crept into the Church since the Year 1580, when the National Covenant was first established. When they themselves broke up the Assembly, they wrote a Letter of Thanks to the King, and published a Declaration 4th. February 1639, directed to all the sincere and good Christians in England, to Vindicate their Actions and Intentions from these Aspersions which Enemies might throw upon them.

The Declaration was welcome to the People of England in General, and especially to these who stood affected to the reformed Religion, and the

the Larve and Liberties of their Countrie. In fine, *The Scots are proclaimed Rebels*, and these Proclamations forthwith disperſed, with all imaginable Diligence through the whole Kingdom, and ordered to be Read in all the Churches accompanied with Prayers and Execrations; and the King in perſon with an *English Army*, reſolved to Chaiſe them.

But the Generality of the Nation deteſted the War, knowing that the *Scots* were Innocent, and wronged by the ſame hand that they were oppreſſed by; and they concluded, that the ſame Sword which ſubdued the *Scots*, muſt deſtroy their own Liberties; yet glad they ſeemed to be, that ſuch an occaſion happened, which might in Reaſon neceſſitat the King to call an *English Parliament*; but whiſt he could make any other ſhift, how low and diſhonourable ſoeyer, he could not, nor would not think of a Parliament. He borrowed great Sums of Money of the Nobility, and required Loan of others, and the Clergy contributed liberally to the War, which was called *Bellum Episcopale, The Biſhops War.*

The King being animated to the War by the *Queen, Popes Nuncio, and other Papiſts*, as you may ſee by their Letters; for the Popes *Nuncio* with a great Aſſembly of Popiſh Lords and Gentlemen; as Sir *Kenelm Digby* and

(*) *Digby and Montague, who at that very time, as we have it in Mr. Thomas Gages Survey of the Weſt-Indies Fol. Edit: pag. 209. ſtood Candidats at Rome for a Cardinals Cape.*

Mr. Walter Montague's. (*) Letters to theſe of the *Roman Religion*, deſiring them to aſſiſt His Maſteſty in this War; for by diſcharging of their Dutie to Loan the King Money, for the carrying on the War, would mainly import the good of the *Roman Church* *Ruſh: Collect. 2. vol. pag: 820. 821. 1329. to 1331.*

And *Archbiſhop Laud*, and other Biſhops, both in *England* and *Scotland*, eſpecially the laſt perſwaded him, that the *Covenanters* were in no ſort able to reſiſt him; That ſcarce any *English Army* at all ſhould be needful to Fight, but only to appear, and His Maſteſty would find a Party great enough in *Scotland* to do the Work.

The King thereupon raiſed an Army, which Rendevoized at *York.*

The *Scots* likewise (to render the King unwilling, or unable to be a Tyrant) levied a brave Army, which advanced forward, under the Command of General *Leſly*; They nevertheleſs continued their firſt Courſe of Petitioning the King, which being favoured by almoſt all the Nobility of *England*; at laſt, by the happy Mediation of theſe Wiſe

Coun-

Councellours a Pacification, to the great Joy of all good Men, was solemnly concluded on the 18th. of June 1639. The Scots within the space of 48 Hours, the time appointed by His Majesty, dissolved their Army, and upon the 24. the Marques of Hamilton received the Possession of the Castle of Edinburgh for the King. See Burnets Momoiers of the House of Hamilton. pag. 194. And the King granted them a free National Assembly, to be holden the 16. of August, and a Parliament to begin the 20, to ratify what the Assembly should Decree.

Hereupon the Scots and English returned home, praising God, who who without any Effusion of Blood had compounded this Difference, and prevented a War so wickedly designed.

But shortly after, the King returned to London, his Heart was again estranged from the Scots and thoughts of Peace, and he commanded the Pacification to be Burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman, an Act than which nothing could more blemish his Reputation, and render him Odious, when the Engagement of his Word, His Royal Word, given in sight of God and Man could not bind him: And having upon the 18 of December, broke up the Scots Parliament, he began to prepare for a new War.

The Scots complained, that it was a Breach of their Liberties, not heard of before in Twenty Ages, that a Parliament should be dissolved without their Consent, whilst Business of Moment was depending; and that whatsoever other Kings in their Kingdoms might do, it was absolutely against the Laws of Scotland.

They hereupon sent four Commissioners to the King, the Earls of Lowdown, Drumfermling, Mr. Douglas, and Barklay to Complain, That nothing was performed that he promised at the Pacification, and to entreat Redress of these Injuries which had been offered them since the Pacification; but to add to their Grievances and Oppressions, the King committed them to Prison, the Earl of Lowdown to the Tower, and the other Three to other Prisons: The Earl of Lowdown being sent to the Tower, about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the King sent a Letter to William Balfour Lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to see my Lord Lowdowns Head struck off within the Tower before Nine the next Morning, which had been done, if the Marques of Hamilton had not with difficulty gotten the King to Countermand the fatal Warrant: This is so incredible a Piece of Tyranny, that I cannot expect you will believe it upon my bare Assertion. I shall therefore shew you, that it seems to be pointed at in Bishop

Burnets

Burnet's Memoirs p. 161. in these Words, ' There were some ill Instruments about the King who advised him to proceed *Capitally against* Lowdon, which is believed went very far; but the Marques of Hamilton opposed this vigorously, asserting to the King. That if that were done, Scotland was for ever lost.

In April 1642. The King called a Parliament in England, not to seek Counsel and Advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, resolving, either to make the Parliament plyant to his Will, and to establish a Mischief by a Law, or else to break it.

The Scots wrote a Justification of their Proceedings to this Parliament, and advised them, *To be wary in vindicating their own Laws and Liberties, this Parliament being called for no other end; but to own the King against his Scots Subjects, and by that War to enslave both the Nations, that after so many Violations and Dissolutions of Parliaments in England; this was not called to redress Grievances, but to be so over-reached (if they were not careful) that no Possibility should be left for the Future of Redressing any:* That some dangerous Practice might be well suspected; when at the same time, a Parliament was denied to Scotland, tho promised by the word of a King granted to England when not expected, and obruded upon Ireland when not desired.

The Parliament met 12 April, when the King required a Supply to carry on his War against the Scots, with a promise, that he would afterwards redress the Kingdoms Grievances. To which it was Answered by many, That Redress of Grievances was the chief End of Assembling Parliaments, and ought to preceed granting of Subsidies: That the People had no Reason to pay for that, which they neither caused nor desired, and which could not prove to their Good, but quite contrary, to the great Detriment of the whole Kingdom: *That they would more willingly pay, to prevent that unhappy War: That the War would make the Breach wider, and the Remedy desperat: That the best Justice would be, to fill up the Pits, which were made to Entrap others, with the Bodies of these that digged them.*

Upon the 15th. of May, the King, to the great Grief of both Kingdoms dissolved this Parliament, finding them noways disposed to Countenance this War. He

Upon the News of the Dissolution of this Parliament, Cardinal Barbarini, Entituled, The Protector of other Courses, to carry on this War. The declared, That he feared, he would cause some

Clergy contributed freely to it, and Collections were made among the Papists, great Loans were attempted to be drawn from the City; and for not complying therein, Sir Nicholas Remtoun, Sir Stephen Soames, and other Eminent Citizens, were Imprisoned.

The Scots taking Alarm at the Breach of the English Parliament, and the Kings preparation for War, and finding themselves bereaved of all possibility of satisfying him by any naked Supplication, they provided for their own Safety, and resolved to enter *England, with a Sword in one hand, and a Petition in the other.* The King Marched his Army Northward, but the common Souldiers were found sensible of the publick Interest and Religion, though many Commanders and Gentlemen seemed not to be so, they declared their Aversion to the War, and questioned, whether their Commanders were not Papists.

Upon the 1st. of August 1640, the Scots Marching towards Newcastle, the English Army Encamped to intercept their Passage; but many of the Souldiers not liking the Cause, forsook their Commanders, however the Horse engaged the Scots, but received a Repulse, some on both sides being slain, with Collonel Willmot, and Sir John Digby, and Owen, Captains of Horse and Papists, were made Prisoners. Hereupon the Scots became Masters of Newcastle and Durham.

And with your leave, Sir, here are two or three Uses of Information or Instruction, from what hath been said, That he appeared Exorbitant and Outragious in his Attempts upon his People.

1. First, In obruding upon them *Land's* Liturgy, and Popish Ceremonies, which were contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom.

2. In denying them (the Undoubted Right of all Subjects) to Petition for the Redress of their Grievances.

3. In dissolving Assemblies and Parliaments, burning the Pacification made with them, by the Hangmans hand, and imprisoning the Lords sent by them, to Petition him to perform his Solemn Promise, and Redress their Grievances.

4. In Levying Armies against them, and raising a Civil War, to justify himself in the Violation of their Laws.

D

x. Infor-

1. *Information*, That the *Scots* Covenant was not a new Invention or Innovation, but established by the Laws of *Scotland*, and taken by King *James* the Sixth, seventy years before King *Charles* the Second took it.

2. *Information*, That *Bishops* and *Clergymen*, in Conjunction with *Papists*, abetted and assisted him in the Violation of the Law, when the Bulk of the Nobility, Gentry, and People of *England* appeared Undaunted in Defence of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

3. *Information*, That Popery hath greatly increased in *Scotland*, ever since *Laurel's* Superstition was introduced there, their Number then not exceeding Six Hundred: And therefore, *Presbytery* being now restored by Law, it may be reasonably hoped, that it may reduce many, who have been deluded into that Idolatry.

4. *Information*, That *Princes* are not always to trust to the Insinuation and Suggestion of *Scots* *Bishops*, seeing that when they instigated King *Charles* the First to dissolve Parliaments and General Assemblies, he was seduced by them into a Belief, that the *Scots* Covenanters were a Contemptible Number, and that their Party in *Scotland* was not sufficient to deal with them.

Now you have seen his Carriage to his Subjects, as in *England* and *Scotland*, I shall give you an Instance of his Carriage to the *Irish* Cut-throats which is as follows.

That altho the *Irish* Cut-throats (who were headed by the Popes Nuncio) had Massacred 200000 Protestants, Men, Women and Children on the twenty third of October 1641, had most impudently styled themselves the Queens Army, and profest, That the Cause of their Rising was to maintain the King's Prerogative, and the Queens Religion, against the Parliament of *England*, and that thereupon the Parliament advised his Majesty, to wipe away this Dangerous Scandal, by Proclaiming them Rebels, which then would have weakened the Conspirators in the beginning, and would have encouraged both the Parliament here and good People there, the more vigorously to have opposed their Proceedings, yet no Proclamation was put forth to that purpose, till January thereafors, which was near three Months, then the following Warrant went to the Printer from his Secretary of State.

If His Majesty's Pleasure, That you forthwith print in very good Paper, and send them to me for His Majesty's Service, forty Copies of the Proclamation enclosed, leaving convenient Space for His Majesty to Sign above, and to affix the

Privy

Privy Signet underneath: And His Majesty's express Command is, That you print not above the said Number of fourty Copies, and forbear to make any further Publication of them, till his Pleasure be further signified, for which this shall be your Warrant. Whitehal, January, 2d. 1642. Edw. Nicholas.

See here what special Care was taken, that a few only should come to the Knowledge of this Proclamation, which was at that time more observable, by the late contrary Practice against the Scots, who were in a very quick and sharp manner proclaimed Rebels; and these Proclamations forthwith dispatched and dispersed, with all imaginable Diligence, through the whole Kingdom, and ordered to be read in all Churches, accompanied with publick Prayers and Execrations.

He raised an Army against England, and rendezvouz'd at Beverly in Yorkshire, 4 July 1642, tho the Parliament did not Vote the raising of an Army till the twelfth. Husband. Collect. 611 pag. May's History of the Wars, pag. 109. Rush. Collect. 3 vol. pag. 680.

He gave Warrant to the Lord Thesaurer of England, and the Lord Cottingtoun Under-Thesaurer (*) of the Exchequer, to advance eighty Pounds Sterlin to Ma- (*) Both of them Papists. for Nolan, to conduct divers Irish Officers and Souldiers to his Army at York. Rush. Coll. 2 Vol. pag. 1267.

And at Naseby, where his Army was routed, in one of his Coaches with his Cabinet, Letters and Papers, fell into the Parliaments hands, whereby his most Secret Counsels with the Queen were discovered; for into one of the Letters, he declared to her his Intention to call over 40000 Irish, to prosecute the War in England. See Cokes Detect. Edition, pag. 312. 314.

Sure these were not the Actions of the wisest or best of Kings, it's true, his Father King James was, in the Language of the Court, stiled Great-Britains Salomon, how far this holds, I know not, except his being the Son of David: But I'm sure, his Son King Charles was, in every respect, the second part of Rehoboam.

You said, Fourthly, Sir, That King Charles was Author of the Book call'd EIKON BASILIKH, and all the Church of England Party are most of that Mind. But that you may not look upon my Denial of this to be a Fanatick Prejudice, I shall produce the Evidence of Doctor Walker, who was a Member of the Church of England, and was privy to Doctor Gauden's composing of that Book. Doctor Holingsworth had written a Book in Defence of King Charles's being the Author of this EIKON BASILIKH, and Doctor Walker proves the contrary, in Vindication of

several Calumnies that *Hollingsworth* had cast upon him, of which take this brief Account.

This good Man *Doctor Walker*, in his Introduction, saith, That *Doctor Hollingsworth* did put upon him that Unwelcome Labour, by falsely accusing him of telling of a false Story, and not consulting him by Word or Letter before he did it, and that he was constrained by Unavoidable Necessity (unless the Doctor expected, that as *felo de se*, he should by silence give consent to these Unjust Calumnies) to vindicate himself. And he declares his Resolution to keep that modest Temper, which becomes one who designs no personal Quarrel, nor writes for Victory but Truth, the Search and Discovery of which needs no Tricks, no little Arts, nor big Words, but is best attained by sedat Proceedings, and plain and open Dealing, and he solemnly appeals to the Searcher of Hearts and Avenger of Falshoods, and Revealer of Secrets, that he will write nothing but the Truth, of what he is not thoroughly perswaded.

1. *Doctor Walker* asserts, (pag. 4.) That *Doctor Gauden*, sometime before the Book was finished, acquainted him with his Design, and shewed him the Heads of divers Chapters, and some of the Discourse written on them, and asked his Opinion concerning it, who told him, he supposed it would be much for the Kings Reputation, Honour and Safety, but added, he stuck at the Lawfulness of it, and asked him, how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the World: To which *Doctor Gauden* readily answered, That he concluded he had thought of that before. Look on the Title: It is the Portraiture, and no Man draws his own Picture.

2. That some good time after, *Doctor Walker* being with *Doctor Gauden* in London, he went with him to *Doctor Duppa* Bishop of Salisbury, as in the way thither, *Doctor Gauden* told him, that he was going to the Bishop, (whom he had acquainted with his Design) to fetch what he had left with him to be perused, or to shew him what he had further written.

That the Bishop had some privat Discourse with *Doctor Gauden*, when in their return told *Doctor Walker*, that the Bishop said, there were two Subjects more, which he wished he had thought on, and propounded them to him, viz. The Ordinance against the Common Prayer, and the denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains, (which are now the 16 and 17 Chapters in the printed Book) and desired *Doctor Gauden* to write Chapters on them, which he said, he promised he would; but before they parted, the Bishop recalled that Request, and said, pray, go you to on finishing

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what remains, and leave these two to me, I will prepare two Chapters upon them, which he accordingly did, as *Doctor Gauden* owned to *Doctor Walker*, and others whom he had made privy to the whole, and never pretended to have written these, as he did to have done all the rest.

3. That *Doctor Gauden*, sometime after the King was murdered, upon *Doctor Walker's* asking him, If the King had ever seen the Book, answered, That he did not certainly know; but he used his best endeavours that he might, for he delivered a Copy of it to the Marquis of *Hartford*, when he went to the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*, and intreated him to deliver it to His Majesty, and humbly desired to know his Pleasure concerning it; but the Violence which threatened the King hastening so fast, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it, for when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent, to make any further noise about it by Enquiry.

4. That *Doctor Walker* asked *Doctor Gauden*, whether King *Charles* the Second knew that he wrote it, he answered, I cannot positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me, but I take it for granted he doth; for I am sure the Duke of *York* doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it as a seasonable and acceptable Service: And he knowing, I question not but the King also knows of it.

5. That *Doctor Gauden's* Wife, and some others, believ'd it as much as they could believe any thing, and when they spake of it in his presence or in his absence, did it without the least doubt of his having writ it, being as much assured of it, as was possible they could be of any Matter of Fact, and there is no Shadow of Appearance, why he should put so gross a Cheat upon them all, 'twas before it was finished, and a good while before it was printed, they so believed, and therefore he had not the Temptation to steal the Applause it met with, when made publick.

6. That *Doctor Gauden* delivered to *Doctor Walker*, with his own hand, what was last sent up, (after part was printed, or, at least, in Mr. *Royston's* hands the Printer, to be printed) and after he had shewed it him, and sealed it up, gave him strict Caution, with what Wariness to carry, and deliver it, and according to his Direction he delivered it on *Saturday 23 December 1648* in the Evening to one *Peacock*, who was instructed by what hands he should transmit it to Mr. *Royston*, and in the same method, a few days after the Impression was finished, *Doctor Walker* received six Books by the hand of *Peacock*, as an Acknowledgment of the Pains he had

had contributed to that Service, one of which he had still by him, as he affirmed, at the time of writing this Account.

To these Reasons Doctor *Walker* adds, (pag. 7.) That he met with Expressions in the Devotional Part, very frequently used by Doctor *Gauden* in his Prayers (for he used conceived Prayers both in Family and in Publick) which he never heard from any other Man.

Now, Sir, you are not to take these things which I have transcribed, to be the Sum Total of what Doctor *Walker* offers to evince that Doctor *Gauden* was the Author of the Book we are talking of, he lays down many other Arguments of mighty weight on that Point, for which I must refer you, (to his Book in Answer to *Hollingworth* the *Aldgate* Doctor) and shall tell you, that he concludes his modest Account of this Matter in these Words, *These are the Reasons why I believe as I do the Affirmative Part of the Question*, that Doctor *Gauden* was the Author, as I have spoken: And if any Man can produce stronger Reasons for the Negative Part, I do not say only I will, but that I must believe that contrary part, for no Man who considers, can believe as he lists, but the weightiest Arguments will turn the Scale.

Now, Sir, since I have given some of Doctor *Walker*'s Proofs, (who is one of the Divines of the Church of England) proving that Doctor *Gauden* was the Author of the above-mentioned Book, I shall also give you an Instance of a Bishop of the said Church, which is this.

Doctor *Nicholson*, who was Bishop of *Glocester*, at the time when the Widow of Doctor *Gauden*, after her Husbonds Death, resided in that City, this Bishop understanding, that Mistris *Gauden* did declare, that her Husband writ the Kings Book, and desiring to be fully satisfied in that Point, did put the Question to her upon her receiving the Sacrament, and she then affirmed, that it was wrote by her Husband.

If you or any Man will answer the above Arguments of Doctor *Walker*, I even beseech him to write nothing for the Truth, of which he does not make the like Appeals to God, as he has done, and not to attempt to carry it by Raillery, or Railing, by Peoples Conjectures, or Stories inconsistent with themselves.

Lastly, Sir, you say, *That the Scots sold the King to the English Parliament; Is a Divine Truth, Men are not only ignorant, because they cannot, but because they will not know the Truth;* And I cannot conceive, that you believe what you here assert: Therefore, that my Countreymen may be Undeceived,
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and our Brethren of *Scotland Vindicated*, I will set this Matter in its true Light, The King had fled to the Scots Army at *Newcastle*, then in the Parliaments Service and Pay; there *Propositions* for Peace were made unto him, which he rejected: The War being happily ended, the Parliament was in Arrear to the Scots, for their Assistance in it, four hundred thousand Pounds: It was agreed, that half that Sum should be presently payed, upon Receipt whereof, the Scots were to deliver up (not the King but) *Berwick, Newcastle and Carlisle* to the Parliament. 'Tis far from Truth, That this was the Price of the King, for the Parliament freely granted to the Scots, that they might carry him (if they pleased) to *Edinburgh*, but they refused it, affirming, That by his presence in an Unsettled Nation, *New Commotions might arise*: They rather desired, (which was also the Kings desire) that he might be carried into the Southern Parts of England, and live in some of his Palaces near *London*, which they thought more convenient for Treating of a Peace, so that in all the whole Debate, they seemed not to contend, who should have the King, but who should not have him; nevertheless to cast a Slander upon both Nations, (for certainly its as wicked a thing to buy, as to sell such Merchandise) you, Sir, will have it, that the Scots sold him, the English bought him; but Willfulness ever was the greatest Blindness.

And, Sir, I must tell you, that I think it strange, that these Men that you would have to sell their King, should Crown his Son Prince *Charles*, and threaten to be avenged upon these in England, who had put his Father to Death, which caused the Usurper, with the English Army, enter Scotland: And the Scots, in Defence of their King, lost many of their Lives at *Dunbar, Dundie*, and several other places.

And a little after the Death of the Usurper, at a Convention of States, they gave to *Monk* seventy two thousand Pounds *Sterlin*, and offered to assist him with twenty thousand Men to bring the King home; as for the Men, he rendered them many thanks; and only desired them, in his absence, to see to keep the Countrey in Peace, (which they did) but accepted of the Money, which did him good Service to pay his Men, and caused them to stand by him, whereas many of *Lamberts* Men (who came against him) deserted for want of Pay. From what is said, we have better ground to assert, that the Scots rather bought the Son, than that they sold the Father.

And, Sir, how badly they were rewarded by him after his Restoration, is known to you, and all Men in the three Kingdoms, but especially these in Scotland; for he caused a great number of them, both Men and

and Women, to be Fined, Forfeited, Imprisoned in Islands in the Sea, and other remote places; where many of them died under cruel Restraint, others banished and tortured with Boots and Thummikins, others hanged, headed, drowned: And at last, the Souldiery was authorized summarily without Process, to kill whomever they met with, who gave them not Satisfaction to such Questions as they did propose to them, only for not complying with Episcopal Government, whereas both he and his People had sworn solemnly against Episcopacy.

And, Sir, I must tell you, that we ought to be thankful to God, who put an end to that Government, and that now we are living under a Government, where no Man is persecuted on the Account of his Opinion for Conscience sake.

Though King *Charles* the First hated nothing more, than to govern by Precedents, yet he would not pray without it; and none of the Liturgies futeing his Fancy, he had Recourse to a *Romance*, as you may see here.

The Prayer of King Charles, filed, A Prayer in time of Captivity. Printed in a great Folio, called, The Works of King Charles, and also in his Eikon Basilica.

The Prayer of Pamela (to a Heav'nly Deity) being under Imprisonment. In Pembrock's Arcadia, 12. Edition, pag. 248. Printed 1674.

O Powerful and Eternal God, to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist, or so small, that it is contemned, look down upon my Misery with thine Eye of Mercy, and let thine Infinit Power vouchsafe to limit out some Proportion of Deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient. Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Faults by thy hand be corrected, and make not my Unjust Enemies the Ministers of thy Justice; but yet, my God, if, in thy Wisdom, this be the aptest

Chastise-

O All-seeing Light, and Eternal Life of all things, to whom nothing is either so great, that it may resist, or so small, that it is contemned, look down upon my Misery with thine Eye of Mercy, and let thine Infinit Power vouchsafe to limit out some Proportion of Deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient. Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Faults by thy hand be corrected, and make not my Unjust Enemy the Minister of thy Justice; but yet, my God, if, in thy Wisdom, this be the aptest

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King Charles his Prayer.

Chastisement for my Unexcuseable Transgressions, if this Ingrateful Bondage be fittest for my over high Desires, if the Pride of my (not enough humbled) Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and cheerfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me suffer, only thus much let me crave of thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, since it even proceeds from thee) that by thy Goodness, which is thy Self, thou wilt suffer some Beam of thy Majesty so to shine in my Mind, that I, who acknowledge it to be my Noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still, in my greatest Affliction, depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the Exercise, but not the Overthrow of my Vertue; O let not their prevailing Power be to my Destruction: And, if it be thy Will, that they more and more vex me with Punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their Wickedness have such a hand, but that I may carry a pure Mind and stedfast Resolution ever to serve thee without Fear or Presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please thee, so that at the last, I may come to thy Eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Pamela her Prayer.

Chastisement for my Unexcuseable Folly, if this low Bondage be fittest for my over high Desires, if the Pride of my (not enough humbled) Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and joyfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me suffer, only thus much let me crave of thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, since even that proceeds from thee) let me crave even by the Noblest Title which in my greatest Affliction I may give my self, that I am thy Creature, and by thy Goodness, which is thy Self, that thou wilt suffer some Beam of thy Majesty to shine into my Mind, that it may still depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the Exercise, but not the Overthrow of my Vertue, let their Power prevail, but prevail not to Destruction, let my Greatness be their Prey, let my Pain be the Sweetness of their Revenge. Let them (if so it seem good unto thee) vex me more and more with Punishment; but, O Lord, let never their Wickedness have such a hand, but that I may carry a pure Mind in a pure Body. And pausing a while, And, O most Gracious Lord, (said she) whatever become of me, preserve the Vertuous *Musidorms.*

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Who would have imagin'd so little fear in him of the true all-seeing Deity, so little Reverence of the Holy Ghost, whose Office is to dictate and present our Christian Prayers, so little care of Truth in his last Words, or Honour to himself, or to his Friends, or Sense of his Afflictions, or of that sad hour which was upon him, as immediately before his Death to pop into the hand of that Grave Bishop who attended him as a special Relic of his Saintly Exercises, a Prayer hol'n Word for Words from the Mouth of a Heathen Woman Praying to a Heathen God; and that in no serious Book, but in the vain Amatorious Poem of Sir *Philip Sidney Arcadia*; a Book in that kind full of Worth and Wit, but amongst Religious Thoughts and Duties, not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any time without good Caution; much less in time of Trouble and Affliction to be a Christian Prayer-Book. It hardly can be thought upon without some laughter, that he who acted over us so Stately and so Tragically, should leave the World at last with such a ridiculous Exit, as to bequeath among his deifying Friends that stood about him, such a piece of mockery to be publish'd by them, as must needs cover both his and their heads with shame and confusion. And sure it was the hand of God that let them fall and be tak'n in such a foolish Trap, as hath expos'd them to all Derision, if for nothing else, to throw Contempt and Disgrace in the sight of all Men upon his Idoliz'd Book, and the whole Robury of his Prayers; thereby testifying how little he accepted them from those who thought no better of the living God, than of a Deceased Idol, that would be serv'd and worship't with the polluted Trash of Romances and *Arcadia*, without discerning the Affront so intelligently and so boldly offer'd him to his Face.

This *Arcadian* Prayer is enough to undeceive us, and what *Arcadia* we are to set upon the rest of his Devotions.

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